Fellowship

• *September* 1949 • Vol. XV—No. 8 • 20 cents a copy—$2.00 a year

Ideas are things which can only be conquered by a greater beauty or intellectual power, and they are never more powerful than when they do not come in alliance with physical forces.

GEORGE WILLIAM RUSSELL (AE)
"The Spiritual Conflict," 1915

The Decentralized Community Discussed in—
Exploring Responsibility, by Arthur Wiser
Advice to the Landlorn, by Stanley Gould

Statement to an Official, by Elizabeth Haas
The Military Midas, by John M. Swomley, Jr.
A Thought on Interim Ethics, by Edith Hunter

ff The statement of Elizabeth Haas explaining why she was unable conscientiously to sign a loyalty oath under Maryland's Subversive Activities Act of 1949, was released publicly on August 1, the deadline set by the law for the filing of such oaths. It and those of Dr. Miriam Brailey and Doris Shamleffer received publicity in a number of localities besides their own. The Homewood Friends Meeting in Baltimore issued a statement which said that "Friends see in that portion [of the law] entitled "Sedition" an attempt to abridge freedom of thought and conscience," and affirmed its belief that the law of God is higher than the laws of man, and Friends must follow their consciences. The FOR Executive Committee, as reported in July Fellowship, has also made a strong statement of opposition to repressive measures. All three of the women are both FOR members and Friends. . . . Mrs. William Armstrong Hunter III, nee Edith Fisher, lives with her minister husband and two children in Mansfield, Mass. . . . Arthur Wiser and Stan Gould on community.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation

2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2 a Year

Fellowship

the journal of the fellowship of reconciliation

September 1949 **Vol. XV—No. 8**

Subheads

Democracy As She Is Spoke

From a CO in prison:

"We had a little orientation talk the other night. Among some more routine details the guard pointed out that this place is to a large extent democratic—we make our own rules in the sense that how we act governs how we will be dealt with!"

* * *

"The National Guard must be prepared at all times. The only way to do this is to follow the regulations laid down by time and experience. No one has the right to decide which regulations are beneficial and which are deleterious to the National Guard. Until further notice all regulations will be considered beneficial."

—Brig.-Gen. James Saliba,
National Guardsman, Nov. 1948

Safe

The American Bible Society announces that it has taken steps to preserve the Bible against destruction in the event of atomic war. Copies of the Book of books have been "segregated" in spots "far from points of military strategy," and the Society feels it has done all that it humanly can to see that the Scriptures survive any new holocaust men may happen to cook up for themselves and the mortal enemies the Book would have them believe are their brothers.

If the Society has done the job carefully there is no reason to doubt that the Bible will come through an atomic cataclysm intact, assuming that the planet itself survives. The techniques developed by our scientific age for the preservation of selected inanimate articles are very nearly as effective as its devices for destroying the animate.

The trouble is that as an inanimate collection

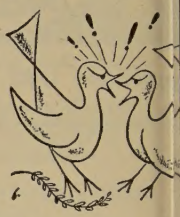
of paper and type, or even a tightly wound roll of microfilm, the Bible isn't worth any more than an ancient stone graven with the cuneiform of a dead civilization. The Book is only valuable when it is animate, wrestling with the powers of darkness right at the "points of military strategy," and the only hiding-place for it that will do any good at all is the human heart.

Clues

The details of how the Bible was "segregated" are not at hand, but we assume that some of the same methods were used as made the headlines during the New York World's Fair a decade ago. At that time various documents and microfilms, representing the "most significant" cultural aspects of our time, were sealed in a metal cylinder, lowered into a hole hundreds of feet underground, and sealed in with concrete. Directions for finding the canister then were filed in all the major libraries of the world, so that scholars of a future age might fairly be expected to stumble on them and thus get a reasonably accurate picture of life in the Twentieth Century.

If an atomic war should destroy modern civilization, which is obviously the contingency in the mind of the American Bible Society, our own feeling is that the scholar of a thousand years hence will save himself a lot of headaches if he never digs up the Good Book. Imagine the poor man standing in the midst of evidence that a civilization had deliberately, viciously destroyed itself, inflicting the most agonizing suffering on millions of individuals, and reading at the same time that its m greatly loved Book was one th urged men to embrace the qua ties of meekness, humility, a love!

Last-Straw Dep't.



"Doves are not as peaceful as they are supposed to be. They quarrel among themselves, though generally not among other birds and creatures."

—Item in the *New York Post*

Through a Glass Darkly

"The North Atlantic Pact 'tops' in practical pacifism."

—Senator Vandenberg

"Nor have I ever detected in t military any tendency to usu power or to do anything other tha safeguard our freedom."

—Bernard Baruch

Hopeful

One of the many imposing d lemmas in which the modern "lib eral" finds himself is that pose by his desire on the one hand improve the lot of millions of ex ploited underprivileged peopl and his fear on the other hand the constantly expanding powe over individuals that the resul ant multibillion-dollar projects giv to the state and its bureaucrats.

That the two are not inevitabl tied together is indicated by a re cent report of Norris E. Dodd, D rector General of the United Na tions Food and Agriculture Organ ization. Mr. Dodd, nearing the en

of a trip to every important food-producing area in the world, scoffed at the plans of diplomats and government officials for "vast, expensive projects of mechanization," costing hundreds of millions of dollars "without having the slightest idea of the conditions their own people live under."

Mr. Dodd's report was enthusiastic over what "just a little money and just a little brains" could do to improve the lot of hundreds of millions living on the near-starvation line. "If we could bring half the world from the era of the sickle to the era of the scythe," he pointed out, "we would have moved ahead 100 years in one jump."

Hopeful, we calls it.

How to Lose Influence—Methodist Church Division

"All of this (opposition to atomic-bomb manufacture, the Atlantic Pact, and peacetime draft by the Oregon Methodist church conference) is perfect and lamentable indication of why various denominations . . . have lost their influence."

—*The Oregonian*

"Oregon Methodists . . . realize you can't mix atom bombs and compulsory military training and fascist restrictions on liberty, and get anything out of the mess except a pagan world . . . . The reason why the Christian Church has lost so much of its influence . . . is because organized Christianity often has ceased to be Christian."

—*Oregon Farmers' Union*

Some ladies in Lafayette, Ind., have formed Tecumseh Circle 21, Military Order of Ladybugs.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The American representative on the UN Commission for Conventional Armaments, without even a backward glance at Oak Ridge, charged that the USSR is hiding from the world the extent of its armaments.

* * *

The Associated Press reports that the mother of a soldier reported killed in the "European theatre" requested a correction because "he did not get killed in a theatre. He got killed in the firing lines with the United States Army in Germany."

* * *

The Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company will not issue insurance to men or women who professionally carry dangerous weapons. They point out that the life expectancy of a professional military man or policeman is not as favorable as that of a disarmed citizen.

* * *

The United States Wholesale Grocers' Association opposed Fair Employment Practices Legislation, claiming that it represents "the utmost extreme of federal legislation to regiment, harass, or otherwise interfere with the operations of private business," and that it would "encourage fifth columnists and communists and touch off widespread race and anti-race demonstrations."

* * *

Waste material from the laboratories at Camp Detrick, the Army's biological-warfare center, is so virulent that both it and the air that touches it must be sterilized.

The Decentralized Community?
Yes! says Art Wiser in

Exploring Responsibilty

By ARTHUR WISER

Jesus said, "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's." He also said, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." We live at a time when Caesar and Mammon are become one. We serve, and are benefited by, Caesar, in the form of Mammon: yet when Mammon, in the form of Caesar, exacts tribute, we sense complicity, and resist.

PACIFISTS GENERALLY ACCEPT the concept of individual responsibility for action in more than an immediate, direct sense. We attempt to root institutional activity also in the individual, and propose as a solution to institutional evil—for example, conscription, jim crow, making atomic bombs—a heightened awareness of the consequences of individual action and the withdrawal of individual participation from institutional evil.

Too frequently, however, our examination of personal relations to institutions has not gone beyond such matters as government at war or preparing for war and cultural patterns of racial discrimination. Generally we accept the mutual implication of the concentration of economic power and the concentration of political power, and we deplore the standards of value and the ways of living that are integral to our economic patterns—yet in the area of economics our proposed solutions are sterile, as evasive and irresponsible as the proposal by atomic scientists that we substitute world government for national government.

The atomic scientists put a tithe of their energy and intelligenc into work for world governmen which if in being, would outla production of atomic bombs. Wit the other nine-tenths of their re sources they work under a nation al government to make atomi bombs: the national governmer and bombs will prevent the attain ment of world government. W pacifists tithe into organization which, if the majority of peopl were in them, would create a

Pacifists have been increasingly concerned about the paradox of protesting war at the same time that they participate in an economic system which in many of its aspects is war-making. For an increasing number the idea of a decentralized community, to some extent, at least, independent of the general economic system, has had an appeal. In this article and in that of Stanley Gould which follows, two pacifists who have participated in such communities present different aspects of the subject.

equitable economic system and satisfying ways of life. The other nine-tenths of our energy we sell on the "market": the "market" will prevent the establishment of an equitable economic system.

Kinship with Others

Personal responsibility is in one way expressed negatively, by extricating ourselves from situations in which we harm others—as by determining not to obey conscription or determining not to exploit the labor of another person. But since a personal sense of interdependence and kinship with others (which is the basis for practicing this concept of personal responsibility) requires an attempt to *work* with others, a positive statement is also necessary. Such a statement inevitably begins with the assertion that most current institutional relationships are harmful and exploitative; therefore new patterns must be created or followed.

Valid economic living, toward which such a pattern would work, presumably would supply current basic needs and a sense of security regarding future needs. Efforts of one individual to meet his needs would not increase the needs of others, nor would the use of resources to meet present needs jeopardize the ability of succeeding generations to meet theirs.

It is clear that many of the techniques of our economic living are not suited to such a pattern. Because a person lacks security regarding his future ability to meet his needs, or because he covets status or authority or wealth beyond the satisfaction of needs, he attempts to accumulate wealth, and that becomes his central economic purpose. It is the central economic purpose of most people, and it has become very difficult to purpose otherwise.

It is clear that satisfying economic living requires radically different techniques.

Each person should be able to satisfy his basic needs and have a sense of security regarding his future needs. There should be relative equality in the satisfaction of needs.

Having security, a person does not need to accumulate wealth; he does not need interest, profit from his work or that of others, inheritance, speculation, or manipulation.

In his productive activity, a person should produce only goods or services of high quality and real value—that meet the needs of himself and others.

Centralization, exploitation, and restraints on improvements and on distribution are unnecessary.

Each person should act responsibly in terms of the ultimate use of the products of his labor and its human effect on other people.

We do not know the results of such living, but surely there is evidence enough to warrant taking steps, at every point possible, in the direction of a more satisfying life. Some of these steps are open to most of us now. They include:

Income should be based on need. A salary based on need is the means of distributing income to the workers in the FOR national office. It is our way of living also here at Macedonia. It is relatively easy for a group of people to get together, even if they work at different jobs, in order to institute such a system.

Among people dealing together, there should be relative equality in the satisfaction of needs. A

formula basing a fair wage on local buying power would make possible fair interchanges between people living in rural areas and those living in cities, and between people in different regions or nations. Here is an example. In Macedonia we are trying to work out the means of selling lumber to co-op housing groups in the North. We, and the sawmill workers who would be participating in the program with us, live on about sixty cents an hour and in homes that cost (and are worth) from $300 to $1,000. We would be selling our best lumber (better than we can afford for our own homes) to home-builders in the North making much higher wages and building $5,000 to $15,000 homes. On what wage basis should the transaction be made?

A Fair Price

Transactions should be based on cost, including a fair wage. Another example: we produce children's building blocks, and are anxious to develop production and selling techniques whereby as many children as possible can have them. Selling on a cost basis means a much smaller margin between our wholesale and retail prices than is customary. One wholesale buyer proposed that our wholesale price should be 50 percent of our retail price in order that we not compete unfairly with him in the retail market. He proposed a 30 percent discount for buyers smaller than his company, and indicated that he had had to discontinue business with one company that would not price "fairly." (The insincerity of the "function" of the proposal is demonstrated by his attempt to sell our blocks to buyers much larger than his company. Of course he will compete "unfairly" wit them.) We have not increased ou retail price, and we have not hear the company's reaction. There ar other more complicated situation that have to be worked through.

Security for Future

We must provide each other wit security to meet future needs. Th Yellow Springs area pacifists ex tend security to each other's fam ilies in the event of arrests an imprisonment. At Celo the mem bers extend security to each othe in the event of serious health ex pense. In Macedonia we extend se curity in the event of disability old age, and the care of dependen relatives, and we support eac other's various weaknesses. (If yo can call it security, when we ma go under this year for lack of ade quate refinancing.) This is an ex tremely important point, becaus until one is secure it seems alway necessary to use the conventiona techniques, make profit, live in equitably. In Macedonia we hav compromised many of the prin ciples here enumerated—on th grounds of "necessity"—in our cas a badly scheduled debt payme program.

Transactions involving tim should be pegged to a relevan price index. Inflation and deflatio alike hurt people, and most loan or other time transactions gambl on who will get hurt and who wil have a lucky break. For the trans action pegged to a price index, thi element of gamble will be replace by one of fairness.

Productive work should be val uable. Each of us can judge easil enough whether his work is justi fied or not in these terms and mak a change if it is indicated.

Even accomplishing many o

hese things, immediately we step nto the "free market" with our roducts or services, our energy urnishes value to the exploitative ystem and acts against us and our ellows. In Macedonia we cut pulpvood. If labor is honest as it requires exertion, then pulpwood utting is the most honest work we ave seen. It improves the timber tand, there is a worldwide shortage of paper, and we use the income from the sale in what we eel is a worth-while way. Yet as oon as we put the pulpwood into he car at the siding, we have added our weight to the resources that are used to make the United States eared across the world.

More specifically, we have no idea what truths or lies will be spread on the pulp we have helped manufacture, or by whom and to what ends the wealth will be used. (After a particularly gruelling spring of pulpwood handling, I was attempting to raise loans for Macedonia and approached a wealthy friend. He discouraged me, pointing out that he could not use an investment in Macedonia. "If you were like the Champion Pulp and Paper Company, in your part of the country, in which I have shares, I could get 6 percent a year on my investment, and could transfer the shares at any time on the open market." It was to the Champion Pulp and Paper Company our pulpwood went, and my friend in his office was earning more from my labor than I!)

In buying and selling, direct contacts, where we can see and choose the influence that our productivity will have in human terms, should replace the open market. Mail-order business direct to consumers is a slight improvement over the usual channels. In buying, organizing as consumers and attempting to deal directly with producers, and in selling, attempting to deal directly with consumers, are steps in the right direction. Beyond that, we should come to know the people with whom we deal and how they plan to use our products, or our money. There surely are enough of us who are working for a sounder world to create a large extranational community of people meeting each other's needs.

Any Suggestions?

This analysis may be weak, and the proposal inadequate; we would welcome clarification of both. The purpose of the statement, however, is to indicate lines of direct action, and discussion should not divert the need for action. The statement is inspired by a sense of inadequacy in living responsibly here in Macedonia when we or our products leave this immediate geographical location, and a sense of frustration when we have looked elsewhere for guidance. Most of the things enumerated are things that can be done now by everyone. We hope somebody will take up the idea and carry it further.

The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again: and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.

Edmund Burke's address on "Conciliation of the Colonies"

Advice to the Landlorn

By STANLEY GOULD

A warning note to dreamy-eyed theoreticians is sounded by Stan Gould in this article. "Don't think it's not a lot of hard work," he says, and while it's a kind of hard work that some will like, others will find the frustrations outweigh the satisfactions.

ALL OF US ARE AWARE of a widespread urge among pacifists to "go rural." Most of us now have our country cousins who have made the jump, and even the most urbanized among us feels slightly uncomfortable without some intelligence in such matters as the relative merits of the breeds of dairy cows, or the prevailing prices on farm acreage. Because the channels of communication are sometimes poor between would-be back-to-the-landers and those who are already "back," I am moved to pass along a few warnings, based on a bit of batting about among California decentralists and two brief years spent in a rural community.

While one is occasionally overjoyed to find a young pacifist couple heading for the land equipped with an abundance of the proper skills, with eyes open to what is ahead, and best of all, with no illusions, the joy is soon lost at the sight of others "returning" to the soil with equal ardor but powered, in their flight from the city, only by one or more of the prevailing illusions regarding Life on the Land.

The first, and most prevalent of these illusions is that in the country you can live the good life on a shoestring. Perhaps you can, but are you sure *you* can? Suppose every available cent will have to go into materials for the modest beginning of a living structure (it won't be worthy of the name "house" for a while). Look deep inside yourself, after carefully brushing aside vestiges of romantic notions about country air, and ask yourself how *good* the life would be with flies in the house (no screen doors yet), dirty floors (no porches for a while), no hot water (running that is), no bathtub, no vacuum cleaner; with boxes to sit on, curtains for walls, a jalopy for a car.

Oh, it won't be that way with you? So you'll have a Bendix, and all? Well, now that's another matter. If you have that much capital this article doesn't apply to you. If you haven't that much, consider well the advantages of city life for the man with little capital: no need to build an elaborate septic tank and drainage field for your sewage —it quietly drains off under the paved and dustless (Huh?—Ed.) streets. Streetcars or buses will whisk you off to almost any place you want, so that your jalopy can get the rest its age requires. You

don't have to fiddle with complicated pressure systems for your water supply (with replacement parts an hour's drive away); for a nominal sum your faucets run year-round. You can't afford a Bendix, but close by you can use one for what is really quite a reasonable fee. Yes, we "little men," living on next week's pay check, can thank the city for a lot.

The "Simple Life"

But, you say, it's the simple life for me. Away with this hustle and bustle, this noise and smoke, this confusion. A fine thought, if you're sure the country will prove simpler for *you*. Does it sound simple to you to be able to wake up in the morning and think that, besides getting in 4 or 8 or 10 hours at whatever your remunerative work is, you really should, before you go to bed again, fix that flat tire, fertilize the orchard, clean the chicken house, mow the weeds in the would-be "patio," burn rubbish, dig a new hole for cans, detick the dog, get at those kitchen cupboards you scheduled to build month before last, stop putting off building a swing for Johnny, and more and more and more? Don't go rural unless that sounds like the simple life (or unless you can afford to have someone else do the jobs for you). I say this because the above list was an actual and typical burden on my mind one recent morning. It was a glorious day, too, and the country air was at its best.

Ah, but in the country we can be subsistence farmers, and remove ourselves a bit from this money economy. Here, again, let us harbor no illusions. The more you reduce the needs in your life that must be met by cash, the more important, relatively, that cash becomes. To the salaried city man cash does not seem half so important as it does to the "subsistence farmer." For after all, middle-class urbanites spend so much of it on things that are not actually life-and-death matters that they know there really is always a margin between them and true adversity, even if they have no great amount of savings.

Not so with the man who idealistically sinks his all in a "homestead"; every dollar then is of crucial importance. And so, understandably, we find the most ardent believers in home production desperately selling every drop of cream for cash and buying margarine, rather than churning a little of the expensive stuff for themselves. Many who have hit the land-dust trail will attest that they have never before been so acutely dollar conscious. The reason is that, as they pursue the goal of producing for themselves rather than buying for cash, they take on so many new tasks that insufficient time is left to earn the irreducible minimum cash requirement. Or frequently the financial pinch comes because they are not sufficiently skilled or equipped for the cash-earning enterprise they have chosen. So before making the jump, consider whether (1) you will be efficient at these new home tasks, and (2) you can earn the dollars you need at a high enough rate per hour. Otherwise you are likely to find yourself, of necessity, more grasping for money than you ever were in the city.

The final illusion has to do with relations with the rural community. For good or for evil, many pacifist back-to-the-landers are not satisfied with *living;* they feel the need to do something they can

consider more significant than mere living. So they talk of their exodus from the city as their "project." The illusion I refer to is that people, particularly rural people, *like* projects.

Conservative Country People

The fact that country people are generally fairly hostile to radical social ideas is fairly well known, although it does no harm to repeat it here in connection with this whole subject of decentralism. But less discussed is the fact that rural people seem likewise to be "leery" of projects that purport to "do things for them." It is not that you will find rural people so different, but that the lingo of the whole project approach to social action is likely to be totally alien outside of your own little colony-like group on the land. In the city you can at least reach out and find the warmth of a group of people who will agree with you that it is projects that change men. In the country you had better think in terms of more subtle and osmotic forces, unless, of course, you choose to be merely a rural outpost for visiting devotees of the project idea.

Without any of these illusion how could a person possibly jo the exodus to the land? If the li is likely to be both uncomfortab and sheer hard work, the nigh filled with dark brown dreams shining dollars just out of reac and the days a succession of han stares from the neighbors, what the attraction?

No Loafing Matter

Well, for many there is no at traction. It is, after all, a matte of what you as a person enjoy do ing. If you believe theoreticall that it should be the rural life fo you, yet if in the last dozen day you have planted no garden, bui no furniture, made no repair done nothing particularly produc tive in the kitchen, made n clothes, done no painting, no aut repairing, then don't persuad yourself that you will suddenly en joy doing these things after the bi move. This is the more importan because it is in these things tha you will have to find all of you pleasures; there is likely to be littl else. And do not tell yourself tha you haven't time now to do suc things; you have more time now than you'll ever have on the land

---

Not Far . . .

One step, or less than that—
A turning of the head,
A focus of flickering will—
And life that was empty
Is suffused with the Presence,
So instant is Divinity's response to awareness.

ELINOR LENNEN

ONE OF THE BIGGEST BUSINESSES IN THE WORLD, ITS INFLUENCE WIDESPREAD AND GROWING, IS

The Military Midas

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

STALIN HAS BECOME the lord of our lives!" someone complained recently. When he moves, we move to counteract him; everything we do, from the Truman Doctrine to the Marshall Plan to the North Atlantic Treaty, is done with our eyes on him, and the fear and hysteria which now stalk Americans in hamlet and farm and city rise or fall with every Russian move.

Just as important in the making of our foreign policy, however, are the interests in this country which foster and manipulate that fear and hysteria. Most important of these belong to three groups: the nationalists who want to enhance America's power and prestige on the world scene; the military who want to maintain a large military establishment; and certain business interests which profit from military spending.

Sixteen weeks before the Russians publicly offered to lift the Berlin blockade, Stalin had put out peace feelers to the United States. Before the Russians printed the details, Mr. Truman steadily denied that any peace moves had been made.

Scores of other facts, known to military intelligence, made it clear that Russia would not wage war with the United States. Russia's ammunition-making program did not involve stockpiling for any large use but rather was concentrated chiefly on schedules which suggested support for small arms training. Although Russia has about 60,000,000 more people than the United States, she has only 33,600,000 non-agricultural workers as compared to about 51,000,000 in the United States. There is still a real food production struggle in Russia, requiring most of her manpower, and Russia has only 400,000 tractors in use on farms compared with 3,114,596 used by American farmers.

Railroad mileage in Russia is less than a third of ours. Road mileage is about 481,000, only half of which is hard-surfaced, compared to 3,010,000 miles in the United States. In 1948 Russia built 39,200 freight cars, and we built 102,737. Russia has about 760,000 trucks and passenger cars, in contrast to 38,000,000 for the United States.

In addition to food and transportation statistics which have a real bearing on ability to wage war, our military knew that Russia's steel output in 1948 was 23 percent of America's; her oil about 10 percent of ours; her coal 31 percent of the amount mined here; and her electric power production about 20 percent of our output.

The Russian people have lived for years on the edge of starvation, many of them during the war suffering incredible privation. People whose bodies are run down and tortured fall back on emotion and illusion, and can seldom make

the effort, difficult at best, to think things through, find out all the facts, and make decisions on the basis of reason. As the director of the *Chicago Daily News* Foreign Service put it, "Our relations with China and Russia must eventually take into account this state of chronic illness. We cannot even assume that the national leaders and the formulators of national policies are immune and capable of normal reasoning. They are subject to the effects of the surgings of their own masses and limited by the fears and forebodings of the physically starved populations."

. . . And So Do We

The relatively excellent physical conditions in this country have not saved us, however, from committing the same error. Instead of analyzing and then dealing with the real Russian problem we have blindly followed our military in a get-tough program. We have let them put 1,665,000 men in uniform, employ 892,184 civilians and maintain in addition about 2,500,000 reserves. The military is thus in contact with and can get political support from over five million people who now have a vested interest in the military establishment, and whose families probably constitute a body of ten or fifteen million more people.

United States military forces are stationed overseas in fourteen Latin American, nine European, four Asiatic, and two African countries; in six Pacific island groups exclusive of American colonies, nine Atlantic islands, in Canada, and in some miscellaneous spots. Ninety B-29s and 10,000 airmen are based at three fields across England, apparently for the 20-year duration of the Atlantic Pact. According to Air Force General Carl Spaatz, ninety B-29s loaded with atom bombs are the equivalent of 79,200 of our wartime bombing planes (B-17s and B-24s) loaded with ordinary bombs. At no time during the war did we have more than 5,000 ordinary bombers in Europe.

Manpower and Ordnance

Russian spokesman Andrei Gromyko complained to the UN that "according to reports published in the American press, the USA already has no fewer than 100 large military bases on foreign territory not counting the bases on the territories of Germany, Austria, Japan, South Korea, and Trieste."

In addition to manpower and bases, the Army had in May, 1948, ten billion tons of ordnance valued at $9 billion, enough to equip 265 armored divisions for combat or 900 infantry divisions. Much of this has been given away by the Army to foreign nations, in line with the policy of arming them for protection against Russia. What is generally overlooked is that the more the Army gives away or writes off at ten cents on the dollar, as it did with a billion dollars worth of armaments sent to Turkey, the bigger the appropriation it can get from Congress each year. Congressmen are afraid of the unpreparedness bogey and have boggled at scarcely anything the military ask, sometimes proposing larger sums than those requested. When President Truman and the late Secretary of Defense Forrestal suggested a 48-group air force, Air Secretary Symington pulled off a coup by asking for a 70-group air force "when we can afford it." The House voted an appropriation almost large enough for 70 groups,

although the measure is still pending in the Senate.

The influence of the military on legislation has been tremendous. They publicly announced their plans and preparations for joint military maneuvers with the Atlantic Treaty nations before the Senate had even begun debate on the treaty. When the Army is relatively sure proposed legislation will pass, it frequently orders its personnel to refrain from discussing it publicly at all. When UMT was pending in Congress, however, the order forbade them to speak *against* it only, and much time and money was spent by higher-ups speaking for it. Publicity and propaganda of many kinds are utilized, including sending flying squads of Army wives to concentrate on Congressmen who might vote the wrong way.

The military run foreign policy not only through their influence on Congress but also through their military missions abroad, the crisis reports from their intelligence services to the President, and their direct representation in agencies like the National Security Council. The profits in money, men, power, and prestige which the military derives from their stake in foreign policy are obvious.

Certain business interests have also profited from the cold war with Russia. On May 7 a United Press dispatch from New York stated: "Leading U.S. purchasing agents after a five-week seminar in purchasing management at Columbia University issued the opinion today that there are only two avenues along which a depression is likely to develop: (1) the possibility that we will talk ourselves into one; (2) *the eventuality that Russia will declare and practice peace.*" Herbert Smith, chairman of the Board of the United States Rubber Company, pointed at the beginning of the year to heavy expenditures for the defense program as one of four major economic influences that would keep American business at a high level of operation during 1949.

Good Business

Armament spending as a result of fear of Russia aided little business as well as big business throughout the country. During the first seven months of the 1949 fiscal year, firms employing less than 500 persons were allotted 198,483 contracts with a total dollar value of half a billion. Some of this and other spending is done only to keep certain businesses alive. Former President Hoover, who chaired a commission investigating the executive branches of government, told Congress that a "practice demanding attention is the budgeting of large sums for procurement to keep industries in a stand-by condition. An example, but by no means an isolated one, is the Navy's avowed policy of giving contracts to private shipyards in order to keep them in operation . . . " He added, "If restraint is not practiced, the policy can degenerate into subsidization of an industry with demoralizing political and personal implications."

Still other industries are subsidized by the government chiefly because they can point to some defense value. The Maritime Commission, headed by General Philip Fleming, is authorized to pay the difference between the cost of building a ship in the United States and of building the same ship in a foreign yard. Despite the prospect of a world shipping surplus, the

Maritime Commission is proceeding with an enlarged subsidized merchant marine program because merchant ships would be needed as supply ships and troop carriers *in the event of war.* The European Recovery Program is another subsidy for the American shipping industry since there is a requirement that half of Marshall Plan cargoes be carried in American boats.

The New York *Herald-Tribune* recently exposed, and Congress is now investigating, the "five percenters," men in Washington who, for five percent of the amount of the contract, offer to help businessmen obtain government contracts. The most important item of their stock-in-trade, boasted about verbally but seldom on paper, is influence with military and government officials. One has recently sent letters to manufacturers stating: "I am now in a position in my Washington office to be of assistance to a selected group of manufacturers either on a commission or retainer basis. . . . Now is the time to lay plans for participating in the $20 billion armed forces budget that looks inevitable."

A retired Air Force General, Oliver Echols, serves as President of the Aircraft Industries Association, the agency which is chiefly responsible for pushing for a huge air force. A high officer in the Remington Arms Company, Donald Carpenter, has served as Chairman of the Munitions Board of the National Military Establishment. These are but samples of the interlocking directorate that exists in the armaments industry and the military establishment.

The United States is now at the crossroads in its policy of military spending. It must choose either to continue the cold war and increase military appropriations or to make peace and find an economic alternative to huge military spending. With signs on the horizon that the cold war might end, businessmen have become cautious and military men are frightened. They have reason to be. As Edwin Nourse, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers to the President, points out, "There are 'critical points' where relatively small changes of actual magnitude have decisive influence. Hence we must look not merely at aggregate sums but at strategic spots in the delicate process of economic life which would be affected by the monetary disbursements and the monetary withdrawals."

The National Military Establishment with its millions of men and billions of dollars is one of those "strategic points." If the tension with Russia is further eased, Congress may be reluctant to give the military so much money. This in turn will deprive the vested interests of some of the profit from lush military spending.

If the American people are not vigilant and vocal, military and business interests will try to preserve their investment by continuing the cold war. As the Rubaiyat suggests, they want to "take the cash and let the credit go, nor heed the rumble of a distant drum."

REMEMBER!

Fellowship Fortnight

October 30-November 13

A Thought on Interim Ethics

By EDITH HUNTER

MANY SCHOLARS BELIEVE that the ethic Jesus taught was shaped by his belief that the end of the world was at hand. They call it an interim ethic, a way of life to follow in the short "now," before the end. But as the apocalyptic hope of the early church faded, this ethic was found to be exceedingly difficult. It was more expedient to keep one's second coat and to think twice before walking that extra mile. One might admire the lilies of the field, but, after all, sensible people realize we aren't lilies. The sword was dusted off, and Christians once more took part in wars and other matters of state.

The Christian ethic, however, was not abandoned. It became universally accepted as "right, but impossible." Thus it was not dangerous to the powers of this world, except in the rare cases where it was accepted as "right, and therefore binding." But this world has always adequately handled such cases, and the Christian church has graciously allowed them a place alongside the main stream of Christian thought.

Perhaps the nicest symbol of the change that has taken place in Christian ethics is the "Conditional Gift." In a Conditional Gift the giver donates his money to the church on the condition that, as long as he lives, he gets a regular income from the money, at exceptionally high interest. When he dies the church gets the principal.

A Conditional Gift, probably the first, was made to the church in the first century. Ananias and Saphira gave all they had, but not quite. They kept back a little, just in case. Of course not having the nice banking arrangements we have, it was only practical. We all know what happened to Ananias and Saphira. They were carried out dead.

The modern world follows a way of life that is antithetical to that advocated by Jesus. He said, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." We plan, predict and insure until there is no present left. All our interests, efforts and thoughts are swallowed by the ever-hungry future.

But, at last, a hopeful portent! For we Twentieth-Century Christians have a new apocalyptic hope, a new eschatology. Once more, the end is at hand, and "there is no hiding place." It will not matter whether the wicked Russians drop the bomb, or whether we good Americans, giving no thought for today, preventatively drop it on them, or let loose our germs, or redirect our satellite rockets. It seems quite certain, the end is at hand.

Why should we not then rescue the Christian ethic from its divine irrelevancy and once more give away our second, third and fourth coats, and drive an extra mile? Could we not let prudence be forgotten and even give an unconditional gift?

Perhaps under the threat of this man-made eschaton, we can become as little children, clear-eyed, guileless, pure of heart. We may enjoy each moment in its fulness, for it may well be the last. We provident, practical Christians

have long begrudged our First-Century Christian brothers the luxury of living by the interim ethic Jesus taught. Now it is our chance. We too need an interim ethic. And who knows, if millions of Christians practiced that ethic in the shor remaining now, the interim, b virtue of our holy abandon, migh be lengthened into eternity, an God's Kingdom come, here o earth.

Statement to an Official

Maryland's Subversive Activities Act of 1949, *passed in April, requires all sta employes, including teachers, and all candidates for public office, to sign a loyalty oa affirming that they are not subversive persons and do not belong to any subversi organizations. Failure to do so means immediate dismissal from the government jo This is the statement of Elizabeth Haas, Assistant Librarian in the Sociology Depar ment of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, member of the Fellowship Reconciliation and of the Society of Friends, which accompanied the loyalty pledg she returned unsigned to her superior. Dr. Miriam Brailey, Director of the Burea of Tuberculosis, Maryland Department of Health, and Doris Shamleffer of the Mar land Department of State Employment and Registration, have taken similar actio*

IN RETURNING UNSIGNED the loyalty pledge required of all public employees in Maryland under the Subversive Activities Act of 1949, I feel that I should state as fully and precisely as possible the reasons why I cannot conscientiously sign this pledge.

A Positive Evil

My objection is not based primarily upon the statement itself, which contains nothing that I could not affirm truthfully and without mental reservation. I think I am safe in saying that I am not a subversive person. As a religious pacifist I am singularly unlikely to subvert the government by revolution, force, or violence; and to the best of my knowledge I belong to no organizations, foreign or domestic, committed to such a purpose. My objection to signing this pledge derives from the whole context of the law which requires it. On both political and religiou grounds this law seems to me to b a positive evil and a denial of prin ciples in which I believe mos strongly.

I realize that the law represent an honest attempt on the part c its authors to safeguard Maryland and its people from the dangers c communism; I cannot but fee however, that the measures the have taken are ill-adapted to thei purpose. The law provides no in telligent positive program to coun teract the ideas and actions agains which it is invoked; it proceeds o a local level against a problem na tional rather than local, with whic the federal government is ade quately equipped to deal; and i sets up potentially vicious machin ery which could be directed all to easily to ends of persecution an compulsion of orthodoxy.

The framers of this act, well-intentioned for the safeguarding o

democracy though they be, show, to my mind, disturbingly little faith in the strength of the democratic process. Action based on fear rather than on faith carries within it the seeds of its own confounding. These frightened men, in their fear of totalitarianism, sanction the use of time-honored totalitarian methods, demanding political conformity, penalizing dangerous ideas, and imputing guilt through association with those presumed guilty. It seems to me very questionable whether the resulting law is an effective means of assuring loyalty, or whether cooperation with it is any valid criterion of loyalty. If for these reasons only, I should have serious scruples about cooperating with it even to the extent of signing the statement it requires.

Besides my objection to complying with the Subversive Activities Act on political grounds, however, I must also oppose it for religious reasons—reasons which are of greater significance to me, though more difficult to explain to the satisfaction of others. I am a Friend by convincement; and the basic fact of Friends' religious faith, at least as I have come to understand it, is the belief in the Inner Light, "that of God in every man." The power and guidance of eternal Truth for the spirit of every human being which this implies may be strong in some, very weak indeed in others; but the point is that only by his own choice of right or wrong action does the individual increase or decrease that power and guidance. When a law undertakes to regulate a man's thought and choice, not on the basis of actual evil already done by him, but on the basis of possible evil to which his thoughts may lead, that law seems to me to reject the authority of the Inner Light. With such a law I cannot conscientiously comply.

Too High a Price

This law seems to me, furthermore, to require of me action inconsistent with the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. If I sign the loyalty pledge, with that action I buy the right to continue in my work as a public employee. I buy it at the cost of consenting in the condemnation of another child of God for the crime of dangerous thoughts and subversive associations. That is too high a price to pay for any position.

It was with the greatest regret that I reached the decision not to sign the loyalty pledge. I have been extremely happy in my work and in my life here in Baltimore and at Pratt, and the tie which binds me is broken only with pain. But I could not conscientiously, under the circumstances, do other than break that tie. Each of us can act only in accordance with the light he has; and the light vouchsafed to me seems to make clear what my action must be in this situation.

On August 15, *as* Fellowship *was going to press, Maryland's Subversive Activities Act was declared unconstitutional by Judge Joseph Sherbow of Circuit Court No. 2 in Baltimore. Since the States Attorney had refused to take steps to enforce the law pending the decision, Elizabeth Haas, Miriam Brailey and Doris Shamleffer have not lost their jobs. Enough signatures for a referendum had already been collected, and if a revised law is passed it will have to be by referendum. In the meantime, Judge Sherbow's decision is being appealed by the State.*

News from the Peace Front

First Nonregistrants Paroled; Ten COs Sentenced

The first two paroles of nonregistrants were granted to men who were over 25, Norman Moody, who was released June 23, and Robert Reuman, released July 7. Since that time four others have been granted parole, effective when one-third of the sentence has been served. They are Ralph Cook of Portland, Maine, first nonregistrant imprisoned, paroled August 15; Newton Garver, released July 11; Austin Regier, August 1; and Paul Cates, September 1.

CO Survey

Richard Graves, Gerald Haynes, Francis Henderson, Rollin Pepper, Charles Frantz, Stephen Simon, Richard Shufflebarger and William Wildman, all nonregistrants, received sentences of 90 days in jail and $100 fine from Judge Robert C. Baltzell in Indianapolis on July 14. All except Shufflebarger and Wildman are students at Earlham College, and Wildman is a graduate. Amos Brokaw of Muncie, who was sentenced at the same time and who had served a previous term as a CPS walkout, received four months and $100 fine. Although the sentences were comparatively light in relation to the average, which had been 18 months, they confused the situation with respect to the Attorney General's recent directive authorizing the registration of COs even if they refused to sign a registration card.

Robert Cannon received a three-year sentence from Judge Jacob Weinberger in Los Angeles on June 9.

Robert Wixom of Champaign, Illinois, was arraigned and his case continued until fall.

Lorton Heusel of Nebraska, however, was registered by the U. S. Attorney and prosecution has apparently been dropped.

Urges World Council Uphold COs

At the July meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in England, Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg of the First Baptist Church of Syracuse declared that if account were taken of denial of civil liberties behind the iron curtain it should also be taken of the imprisonment of COs in the United States. He declared that among COs were to be found the "choicest potential Christian leadership," and asked the Council to express its views on the subject. His proposal was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who suggested that a survey be made of the situation in all countries before action was taken on this question.

Ted Walser Dies, NYFOR Secretary, Missionary

The Rev. Theodore Demarest Walser, Secretary of the New York Fellowship of Reconciliation since shortly after his return to this country from internment in Japan in 1942, died on August 14 in Sayre, Pennsylvania. He had been a leader at a Friends Institute of International Relations when he was taken ill.

Ted Walser joined the FOR in 1924. He graduated from Rutgers University and Union Theological Seminary, and spent twenty-six years in Japan under the sponsorship of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, as Director of the Open Door, a student center in Tokyo. He was interned for eight months there at the beginning of the war, and he and Gladys Walser were then repatriated in July, 1942, returning to this country on the Gripsholm. Soon after that he accepted the position of Secretary of the New York FOR.

He served the New York Fellowship as Executive Secretary during the difficult war years and the, in some ways, even more difficult postwar period. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the National FOR and of the War Resisters League, and served as part-time Secretary of the Metropolitan Board for COs.

Despite their long years and many friends in Japan, the Walsers refused to return there after the war so long as the Occupation continued. All who have known Ted and come under his influence will remember his deep and abiding devotion to the cause of peace, his ever-ready counseling for those who asked it, his tirelessness and good humor in difficult situations.

Gara Case Has National Repercussions

The case of Larry Gara, college professor sentenced to 18 months in jail for counseling nonregistration, is producing reactions throughout the country. In Washington in early August, pickets turned up at the White House and presented a petition with 400 signatures protesting his imprisonment.

Time magazine, in its August 15 issue, gave more than a column to the case, and quoted an aide of President Truman who said "These conchies give you nothing but grief and trouble."

In New York City The Rev. Donald Harrington, FOR member and minister of Community Church, where he succeeds John Haynes Holmes, declared from his pulpit on August 7 that he ought to be in jail if Larry was. After reporting his sermon, the New York *Times* rapped Harrington's knuckles editorially, pointing out that his freedom to say what he liked was "won and kept secure . . . by men and women who were willing to defend their country against aggressors"; and the New York *Herald-Tribune* quoted "Conscience doth make cowards of us all," and added that it seemed to make fools of some.

Britons Appeal for Greek JWs

Influential members of the British House of Lords and House of Commons addressed an appeal for clemency for Greek Jehovah's Witnesses to the Queen of Greece.

Japanese FOR Plans Projects

The Tokyo FOR recently elected new officers and made plans for future work in the field of peace. Newly elected secretaries are Mr. Hideo Kagami and Mr. Hiroshi Sakamoto, and Treasurers will be Miss Lillie Roudabush and Mr. Bunichi Kagami. The group also decided to establish, as soon as possible, a center for an office and meetings, and a study group especially for young people.

The Tokyo group plans to publish a Japanese version of the Statement of Purpose, and hopes to found a Peace Collection in the National Diet Library.

Mr. Y. Sakamoto, former Secretary of the Tokyo FOR, will come to this country soon to study, and Miss K. Kurama, former Treasurer, is now here to attend an educational meeting. Dr. Ayusawa, who is attending a Red Cross conference in Geneva, expects to return to Japan by way of the United States.

World Convention Will Draft Constitution

Planned for December 25, 1950, in Geneva, Switzerland, is a World Constitutional Convention with delegates from all over the world. The Convention is being organized by people in different countries who are interested in peace and it gets its support from individuals everywhere, whether governments support it or not. Mr. Fyke Farmer, Nashville lawyer and FOR member who has given up his practice to work for world peace because he says first things come first, and the preservation of life is the most important issue no is working to get delegates fro this country.

Countries will be represented the basis of one delegate to ea million of population, with 1 from the United States. Bills ha been introduced in the senates Tennessee, New York, Illino Colorado, Alabama, and sever other states to send delegates, a work is going on in France, Be gium, Italy, Germany, Denmar Norway, Sweden, Canada a Australia. In Great Britain t leaders of the movement a Henry C. Usborne, Lord Beverid and Sir John Boyd-Orr.

Those interested in learnin more about this movement a what they can do to help it alon should write to World Governme Fund, Bellevue Drive, Nashvill Tennessee.

Schweitzer Acclaimed in U. S. Visit

Dr. Albert Schweitzer, medic missionary, theologian, musicia philosopher and authority on Ba and Goethe, came to this countr for the first time in June to deliv a lecture at the Goethe Bicenten nial Convocation in Aspen, Colo rado. He said that the true reli gion for Goethe "is not that of dog ma about Jesus and about his wor but the religion of love which H proclaimed." He said that Goeth held the two basic ideals of purit and kindness as central to all re ligion, and Goethe's principle "d good for the sake of doing good was central to his concept of th religious life. For Goethe, he sai the supreme manifestation of th human spirit is kindness.

Canadian Secretary to Attend India Conference

Mrs. Mildred Fahrni, Secretary f the Canadian FOR, will attend he World Pacifist Conference this ecember in India, and will prob-bly be the only Canadian dele-ate. Nevin Sayre and George aine will go from the United tates.

The Canadian FOR held a study amp at Waubaushene, Ontario, ugust 20-28, the first of its kind n that Province. Discussion lead-rs included Gordon Keith, Walter lexander, Ed Newbery, J. M. inley, J. Lavell Smith, and Mil-red Fahrni.

The Canadian FOR was repre-ented on a delegation sponsored y the Association of Civil Liber-es to investigate race discrimina-on in Dresden, Ontario, where here is a large Negro population, nd where they are refused many ervices. A program for the bet-erment of relations is planned, sing nonviolent techniques.

Dodd Defended by Ministerial Association

In one of the "longest and most pirited meetings in its history," he Toledo Ministerial Association dopted a set of resolutions sup-orting the right of Dr. Aleck D. odd to follow the dictates of his onscience in refusing to pay a ortion of his taxes, and sharply riticized the Toledo Council of hurches for dismissing Dr. Dodd s director of Pastoral Relations. he Council's action followed the nternal Revenue Bureau's gar-ishee of Dr. Dodd's salary to col-ect $150.47, the portion of his 1948 taxes comparable to the part of the budget which he feels goes for war purposes.

The statement of the Ministerial Association read in part: "While we have not felt impelled to take the step Mr. Dodd has taken in refusing to pay that part of his income tax which he feels is devoted to furthering the cause of war, yet we are of the opinion that he should follow the dictates of his conscience."

Hiroshima Appeals for Funds to Rebuild

Faced with the devastation wrought by the atomic bomb, which left more than 306,000 people homeless, some of Hiroshima's foremost citizens have formed the Hiroshima Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Committee to raise funds to rebuild the city. The chairman of the Committee is Yutaka Ito, Chairman of the Hiroshima Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and special advisers include Tsunei Kusunose, Governor of the Hiroshima Prefecture, and Shinzo Hamai, Mayor of Hiroshima.

The Committee reports that ten billion yen will be needed for public buildings and utilities alone. Financing on such a gigantic scale is far beyond the capacities of the city, especially in view of its losses, and the Committee is appealing for funds to citizens of other countries and to Japanese living abroad. The people are exhausted by the many years of war and privation, and the Committee hopes also to give them new faith and encouragement by building Hiroshima anew as a "city of peace and culture."

Arms to Europe Higher than Apparent

Administration plans for implementation of the North Atlantic Pact call for the granting of $1,130,000,000 in armament to Western Europe. Of this, $678,000,000 is for new weapons, and about $452,000,000 for Army surplus.

The Army surplus, however, though new and undamaged, has been marked down to 10 percent of its original value. Hence $452,000,000 in Army surplus will actually become $4,520,000,000 worth of goods.

Interracial Fellowship Will Establish Symphony

The Interracial Fellowship of Greater New York, whose Interracial Choir, established several years ago, has become so well known that it regularly draws overflow crowds to its annual concerts in the huge Cathedral of St. John the Divine, has announced that it will begin organizing a symphony orchestra. Men and women will be welcome, and are urged to let the Fellowship know what instruments they play.

Seek Appropriation Equal to CO Wages

Wages totalling $1,247,018.15 were withheld from COs in dairy testing and farm work during the war and impounded by the Treasury. Now the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, through the Friends Committee on National Legislation, is attempting to get a bill passed by Congress authorizing an equal appropriation for one of three relief agencies. A similar bill passed the House la year by unanimous consent b failed to pass the Senate.

An attempt is being made by t Workers Defense League in t case of Arthur Emery, Jr., to r cover the confiscated wag through the courts.

A JOB MEANS FREEDOM

Our committee began two years a to help non-CO prisoners, with who CO ex-cons had come in contact, wi money, a job, and friendship. But t needs of helpless suffering men can r be confined to acquaintances.

In two weeks this summer four m wrote asking for help in finding the jo that would mean parole and freedom f them. We have no jobs; and our mon is exhausted. Can you help?

Norman C., single, 40-odd; has serv 13 years on an assault charge; expe enced in tailoring and pressing, but w work as porter, house man, laund worker, messenger or hospital or ge eral laborer.

Richard W., 1st offender; sentenc 5 to 10 years for robbery; has served years and two months; 29 years old will work as porter, etc.

Henry B., in Sing Sing for attempt burglary; meets Parole Board in O tober; will work as laborer, etc.

Charles S., Sing Sing inmate; w work as porter, superintendent's helpe etc.

These men will not be released o parole unless they have a job. The a ternative to a job means serving their fu sentences, in one case life. A job ca mean freedom.

Alfred Hassler, Treasurer

COMMITTEE TO AID CONVICTS AND EX-CONVICTS
2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Jottings

Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, Executive Secretary of the Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council of New York City, and an FOR member, was recently awarded a bronze plaque by the Jewish War Veterans of Kings County honoring him as "Brooklyn's Most Outstanding Interfaith Leader for 1949."

Myron Tripp, recorded minister of Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends and an FOR member, who is Assistant Professor of History at Rocky Mountain College at Billings, was elected to the Montana House of Representatives last November.

The Philadelphia FOR has initiated a Thursday Noon Pacifist Discussion Group. Luncheon is served very reasonably in a private room at a restaurant, and discussion leaders have included A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin and John Swomley. Philadelphians find it an excellent place to bring nonpacifist friends.

Alvin Johnson, former head of the New School for Social Research in New York, has accepted the Presidency of Shipherd College, the new college being founded by Tucker Smith and other refugees from Olivet.

Tougaloo College in Tougaloo, Mississippi, is looking for additional white members for its biracial staff. A history instructor, a dean of women, an athletic coach, a dietitian and a secretary are needed.

The Rev. Donovan E. Smucker, Professor at Mennonite Biblical Seminary and former FOR secretary, has been made an Associate Editor of *The Mennonite*, the weekly journal of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church.

Prof. William S. Vickrey of the Graduate Department of Economics at Columbia University, an FOR member, returned in August from Japan, where he was one of a seven-member mission to study the Japanese national and local tax structure.

Southern California Quakers entertained twenty Hopi and Navajo boys and girls for a two weeks' vacation in July. The children come from Arizona reservations.

Belgium and France have agreed to dispense with passports for one another's citizens when traveling from one to the other.

On March 29 the Oregon Supreme Court held the Alien Land Law of that state unconstitutional on the ground that it classified aliens solely on the basis of race. The law limited ownership and use of land by persons ineligible for United States citizenship, and applied mainly to Japanese.

The Missouri Medical Association at its annual meeting voted to remove the word "white" from its constitution and to admit all qualified doctors regardless of race.

Books

Tolstoy's Philosophy

The Law of Love and The Law of Violence, by Leo Tolstoy. Rudolph Field, 1948. 130 pp., $3.00.

One of the hopeful signs in a world that often wears a discouraging aspect for pacifists as well as other people, is the number of out-and-out pacifist books being produced by important publishing houses and, presumably, finding purchasers.

The present work is one that Tolstoy wrote toward the end of his career. Oddly, the book was never published in Russia and we suspect that it will be some time before the Soviet Publishing House provides an edition for home consumption. The book was translated into French from the original manuscript, and is now available for the first time to English readers.

The book is a moving exposition of Tolstoy's Christian anarchism and philosophy of nonviolence based on the Sermon on the Mount. It contains some beautiful, typically Tolstoyan short stories about conscientious objectors in Russia. It reads as though it were written yesterday, so pat are many of its passages to conditions today.

One powerful passage expresses Tolstoy's astonishment that the workers and peasants do not "free themselves in the simplest and easiest way: by abstaining from taking part in the violence that is only possible with their cooperation." He advises them to addres their rulers as follows: "Leave u alone. If you, emperors, general judges, professors and other learn ed men, if you have need of arm ies, navies, universities, corps d ballet, ecclesiastic courts, conserva tories of music, prisons, gallow guillotines, prepare them all you selves; tax yourselves, judge you selves, imprison and execute eac other, exterminate yourselves, g yourselves killed in war but lea us alone."

Why is it that moral and edu cated people feel capable of dis cussing the question of the Trini or the divinity of Christ or revolu tionary political programs "but a are equally convinced that or cannot speak seriously of nonre sistance to evil? Simply because is impossible for men not to fe that the admission of nonresistanc to evil ruins their lives as the now are, and exacts of them some thing new."

I was somewhat surprised to fin in this rewarding book Tolstoy calm assurance that the law nonviolence and love will come t prevail among men and to fin quoted on this point two great fig ures in French literature. A. Du mas (fils) declared: "I believe tha our world is going to enter int the realization of the words: Lov one another, without botherin either, whether it was a man or God who said them." And Anatol France, no less, summoned men t conscientious objection with th

tatement: "War will disappear nly when men shall take no part vhatever in violence and shall be eady to suffer every persecution hat their abstention shall bring nem."

—A. J. MUSTE

Metaphysics of Peace

nevitable Peace, by Carl Joachim Friedrich; Harvard University Press, 1949.

Contemporary pacifism repre-ents perhaps the most bubbling haos of ideas in the history of hu-nan culture, as any ex-prison or x-CPS man can testify; but to voke a consistent and vital nexus ut of this chaos we need desper-tely a metaphysics of peace.

Carl Joachim Friedrich has not roduced such a metaphysics—not ompletely at any rate. Nonpaci-ist scholars will probably become ngrossed in his analysis of Hume, Bentham, Rousseau, Locke, and Hobbes and completely miss the *vill to peace* that (I trust) has pro-voked the author to undertake uch research. He has not only roduced a commentary *en large* f Kant's moral and political phi-osophy, but has wandered also hrough Melancthon and Olden-lorp, Althusine, Suarez, Richard Hooker, Hugo Grotius, Marx and Engels and Lenin, Proudhon, Veb-en, Tolstoi and many others. Yet even they may question whether ne has come to grips existentially vith the problems he has explored nistorically.

On the other hand many pacifists vill openly reject him because he loes not discuss Gandhi and Sat-yagraha. Surely the Gandhian Revolution, as well as the UN Charter, meet the Kantian canons of Freedom and Peace! If Kant rejoiced at the French Revolution,

Is War Inevitable?

Read the answer given by members of the Episcopal Church in

Peace Is Possible

Essays dedicated to the memory of

ADELAIDE T. CASE

Introduction by Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence

Edited by Sydney Temple

THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE

Essays by John Nevin Sayre, Fleming James, Oscar J. F. Seitz, John R. Yungblut, Sydney Temple and Katharine C. Pierce.

THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACE

Essays by Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence, Adelaide T. Case, W. Russell Bowie, Shelton Hale Bishop, John C. Plott, Raymond S. Hall, Leigh R. Urban and Bishop G. Ashton Oldham.

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Published under the auspices of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship

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what would he have said of Indian independence? Nevertheless, Friedrich is not ignorant at least academically of the pacifist—and indeed, of the absolutist and anarchist—position. Rufus Jones and Henry David Thoreau, as well as Cecil J. Cadoux, have been examined and included, although pacifists are reminded that Thoreau supported the Civil War. He is also deficient in his ignorance (willful or not) of mysticism, Eastern or Western, and of their relation to the Idea of Peace. This is a serious defect in any philosopher, but as Heard and Huxley have shown (however superficially) in a philosophy of peace it cannot be ignored.

ADVERTISEMENTS

A booklet in memory of our dear friend Charlotte Bentley is being prepared by the Peace and Service Committee of New York Friends. If any of her friends in the FOR would like to assist in this tribute, by offering suggestions, telling of incidents, or giving financial aid, we hope that they will write to Miss Anna L. Curtis, 325 West 13th Street, New York City 14.

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Nevertheless, *Inevitable Peace* i definitely a book that shoul arouse the *critical faculty* s notably absent or idle among u We have roots in contradictor soils: anarchism and federalism pessimism and pollyanna Method ism; mysticism and Marxism; de terminism and voluntarism; revo lution and evolution; pietism an atheism, to name only a few. It small wonder that we bring fort such strange fruit. Friedrich, n more than Rufus Jones or Josep Stalin, does not resolve the dialec tical antinomies. But at least, b his indebtedness to Kant, he able to project them, in objectiv perspective, into their proper prob lematic formulation and suggest method of dealing with them. W can all profit considerably by hi work. It is, indeed, though not th finished job, a long stride towar the *metaphysics of peace* I hav long been seeking.

Inevitability Questionable

This much for general commen At more specific points, Friedrich' discussion aroused in me the fol lowing considerations:

(a) Basically, the inevitabilit of peace (in which, following Kan he does believe) is questionable— as questionable, at least, as the in evitability of war, which he doe question. Peace belongs to *possi bility*, to the categorical impera tive; it is a *must*. Statistics, histori cal or sociological, will not yield "Thou shalt." That belongs to th Will and the Open Future—to Rea Contingency—not to the calculu of probability.

(b) Is our concern a practica concern for the peace of the na tions, or are we only obeying i blind (and therefore holy?) fait

e command of the Lord that we hould not kill each other or anyhe else, regardless of consequences? Are these irreconcilable? r does the former only present le societal extension of the latr?

The CO's Dilemma

Furthermore, is this higher ame of reference necessarily inolved in theology? Is peace, in nort, as individual right or as soetal ideal, conceivable without ne idea of God? Or, indeed, does he idea of God or the appeal to conscience" allow undue license or what is in point of practice irtual anarchy? Must the pacifist e a CO? Friedrich seems to be ncerely puzzled over this probem and to appreciate the CO's diemma perhaps even better than ne average CO himself.

(c) The problem of *secularization*, although not peculiar to pacists alone, has engulfed us in full ide. The secular basis of cosmoolitan life is the only one on which n egalitarian and tolerant society an be built; yet, with all things ecularized and religion taking secnd place, whence will holy ideals nd noble aspirations spring? It is ard for Americans to realize that aw ever had any connection with heology, yet COs must appeal to "law" that is "*above* that of the tate." How did we come to such a ass? This Friedrich does trace out vith excellent erudition and clarty.

Such are the problems raised by Friedrich's analysis. Our difficulty s indeed complex. Immanuel Kant, ccording to Friedrich, gives no lueprint solution. But he does eave room—large room—for faith. Friedrich's faith, however, is not heological, it is secular, though political and flavored with an idealistic optimism that is no longer vital.

"Peace," he says in the final paragraph, "is not merely the absence of war, whether of classes or nations or culture; peace flows from creative living. I believe that both Kant and Marx knew it. . . . These three (Kant, Marx and Engels) . . . loved men. Deep down below their restless, energetic minds, there lived a faith which words cannot express. . . . This faith provides the only real ground for believing in inevitable peace. It is inevitable only because man cannot escape his own destiny of fulfillment in men."

Whether such humanistic and bourgeois liberalism has any real historical élan in our existential crisis, or whether it is only a nostalgic leftover from an age now closed, is yet to be seen. Most of us have outgrown—or outworn—"creative pioneering." The choice is not as Friedrich puts it, between Kant and Marx, or between the UN or the Kremlin. The choice is between Marx/Lenin and Christ/Gandhi. Nicolas Berdyaev has warned us, the bourgeois pacifist with all his false faith in "progress" and "inevitable" peace is just as insecure as any other bourgeois who clings to academic consolations and humanistic self-sufficiency.

Appended to Friedrich's work is that to which all else is really only a commentary, namely, a new translation of Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace*. Not being a philologist, I cannot judge the translation. But certainly the more this essay is read the better. Perchance fresh translations will stimulate wider reading. Without this one, the book would not be complete.

JOHN C. PLOTT

Gandhi's Growth

Great Soul: The Growth of Gandhi, by Herrymon Maurer, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948. 128 pp., $2.00.

Gandhi Lives, by Marc Edmund Jones. David McKay Co., 1948. 184 pp., $3.00.

The world may wait for generations for an adequate volume on Gandhi's life, so many-sided and vast was its range. We, contemporaries of West and East, are too close or too far away to understand him fully.

Great Soul, as a first "gospel" with Maurer as its "Mark," centers in a sound, apt theme—growth in the grasp and application of truth. Simply and beautifully unfolded, it suffers like all short forms from over-simplification. Particularly inadequate are the accounts of such campaigns as Champaran, Ahmedabad and Khira. They are too brief to carry conviction. Jallianwala Bagh is a garden in Amritsar and not a city. Yet this book would compensate for many defects by its faithful revelation of Gandhi's spiritual growth into greatness of soul.

The Nehru of 1936 is symbol of the West's inability to understand Gandhi. Nehru wrote, "Gandhi is always thinking in terms of personal salvation and of sin, while most of us have society's welfare uppermost in our minds." Nehru would probably think more clearly now. The author perceives what is fact—that Gandhi did *not* retreat into the extreme of the "yogi" position (the "moral rectitude" extreme of John Dewey), leaving the environment to care for itself. He took the Quaker "inner light" so seriously as to turn it inevitably

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nd recklessly outward (exactly as ith the first Christians and with eorge Fox and his Friends) to y hold of everything in the en- ironment. The author says that andhi was the more practical, ut to give "religion" as the reason confusing. Most religion, as we now it, is stratospheric rather nan practical. Not so with Gandhi who writes in his autobiography, A man who aspires after that the universal and all-pervading spirit of Truth) cannot afford to keep out of any field of life. . . . Those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means."

Gandhi Lives takes us deeper in- o this same problem, and in addi- ion asks: Why does Gandhi con- inue greater than ever in our world? A student of religions brings his reverent spirit and sharp penetration to bear upon the Hindu influence, and other varied, infil- rating influences, upon Gandhi's mind. He shares with Gandhi the paradoxical attitude, which repre- sents Hinduism at its best, that one should not extract one's roots but rather put them down deeper into the soil of one's own religious tra- dition, and that one should always be open to and should seek truth from every other source.

Hinduism can interpret Jesus more accurately than the West has done. It does not suffer from the fatal Protestant dualism which continues to make history in our present mounting crisis. It thus has the clearest challenge to the Nie- buhrian accommodation. In the author's words, "The Hindu mind, perhaps far more than its western counterpart, remembers that blacks and whites blend into greys con- tinually and variantly as far as life is concerned, and that allegiances must not only be to the white, as seen in the mind, but toward the achievement of the whiteness in every situation at hand." By con- trast, the Western mind, when it is religious, too often tends to accom- modate to a life detached from spirit, for the sake of an idealized pure spirit which it cannot ever actually experience—the "cross outside of history."

RALPH TEMPLIN

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THE REVIEWERS

John C. Plott is an ex-CPS man who is now in Europe. Ralph Templin was director of the School of Living in Suffern, New York, and is now at Glen Homestead, in Ohio, and taught last year at Wilberforce University.

Letters

All Involved

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

We are in the pro-Milton camp! "Socrates in a red necktie" was the way he was introduced the first time we heard him speak, and so he has always been.

We have a problem to toss to him:—So we are COs; so we don't pay taxes (our income doesn't make it necessary anyway);—and then our life insurance agent (a veteran of World War I) explains how sound his company is as most of their money is invested in government bonds! Is there no escape? Milton, how's your life insured these days? And what kind of insurance is it on any life when government bonds mean more and bigger bombs?

DUANE AND FLORENCE MAGILL,
Pasadena, California

Uh-huh. Likewise, the baker's profit on the bread I buy goes to war. I can't extricate myself, so I extricate myself as far as I can.

MILTON MAYER

Worthy Campaign

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

My prayers are with you in the Gara and Dodd cases. You are in the front line of the only campaign worth fighting—the campaign for a truly Christian democracy, and the triumph of love and peace. The Peace Prayers at my camps are tremendous this year!

GLENN CLARK,
St. Paul, Minnesota

Call to Action

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

When I heard about the recent ra
riots in Africa and simultaneously
membered the still persisting caste s
tem in India, the idea struck me to st
or to join an interracial cooperative co
munity in one of the two places. Origin
ly, I had considered going to the "Br
erhof" in Paraguay, but I cannot ov
come the thought that I might thus on
escape a greater task.

I am a young postwar immigrant fr
Germany. Inspired by Henry Noel's a
Garry Davis' ideals, I shall never becom
a citizen of the United States or of a
other country.

As I am not in the position to carry c
all by myself such plans as the above,
related ones, and as I moreover feel th
there must be many more people who c
no longer be satisfied with a life of luxu
while the rest of the world is fighting a
starving, I am using this opportunity
ask my fellow FOR members for advi
and suggestions.

MARGARETE SCHULTZE,
P. O. Box 99,
Newington, Conn.

Prisoners' Work

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Your readers are probably aware of th
details leading to our recent impriso
ment on a North Carolina road gang f
violation of the state jimcrow laws du
ing the Journey of Reconciliation in th
spring of 1947.

At Reidsville, and presumably at a

ther road camps, we did not find even ie pretense of rehabilitation that we ound in federal prisons during the war. he prisoner works long and hard, eats nd sleeps—all according to schedule. Vhat he does with his free time is sole- his own affair and does not concern the uthorities. There are no facilities for ecreation or education. Time hangs eavily on a prisoner's hands at all mes, and particularly over the weekend. In this environment, character can nly deteriorate. What can be done to emedy the basic structure of the road amp is primarily the problem of North arolinians. For the moment, however, e are concerned with the handful of mates who have been able to resist— r at least reduce—the debilitating ef- cts of such existence. These men buy eather with which they make billfolds n orders from the free world. The work ot only provides them with a little pocket money, but keeps them occupied in a constructive way. Such activity, probably more than any other, can bring out in them social qualities which could prevent their lives from becoming one long series of prison sentences.

Those who are tired of waiting for officialdom to reform our prison systems and who want to do something beyond talk about fundamental rehabilitation, can help by buying such billfolds. They sell for $4 and $5, and details of design can be supplied by the purchaser. Orders for billfolds and other leather articles can be placed through Igal Roodenko, 1117 Manor Avenue, New York City 59. He will also be pleased to submit a sample of the work done to those interested who live in or near New York.

Joe Felmet
Bayard Rustin
Igal Roodenko

Two Weeks for Peace

A girl we know just joined the FOR because two years ago a member, doing personal visitation, had stopped in to see her. She'd thought about it in the meantime, and when another member met her and suggested joining, she was ready.

That's the way most members have joined, and it's the way most of the Fellowship's work is accomplished—by individuals, each of whom may feel his efforts painfully inadequate, but whose grains of mustard seed, scattered here and there, combine into quite an achievement.

Fellowship Fortnight asks each member to give all the spare time he can, for two weeks out of the year, to doing something for the FOR, including those who work for peace through other groups and those who live in communities where opportunities for direct peace work are strictly limited. A variety of suggestions, including the Peace Roll Call, are provided, so that each member will find one or more to suit his situation.

Fellowship Fortnight can produce new members and interest among nonmembers for months to come, and give the Fellowship a lift that will put it out of financial danger for the rest of the year.

Information will be reaching you soon about

FELLOWSHIP FORTNIGHT

October 30-November 13

Correction, Please!

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It is a surprise to hear from friends that one has a letter in Fellowship not sent to your column! The item for June is somewhat out of date as Sibley and Jacob have since revised their manuscript; however what you print is a useful corrective to the earlier summary published by the Pacifist Research Bureau.

PURNELL BENSON,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Our Shortcomings

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I can't help commenting on two things in the May issue of FELLOWSHIP:

1. Milton Mayer's backhanded slap at the Church in his article on John Foster Dulles. I think he could have said a good many more things about Dulles and others trying to maintain the "Christian Status Quo." And having been a minister for 20 years, I certainly would not whitewash the Church—I know too many things about it. But I have always been troubled by the "anti-Church undercurrent" in FOR circles. With all of its shortcomings, the Church is still the most powerful institution which at least gives lip service to "The Prince of Peace." I submit that if war is avoided in our generation, it will not be done by the FOR and like groups—unless they convince the Church that the message of the FOR is not a "pacifist message," but the message of "historical Christianity." The masses will not respond to pacifism. We've messed that t too badly; much more badly than t churches have messed up Christianity, fear. But the youth of our churches w listen to historical Christianity. The FC will become a spearhead in that directic or pass into the insignificance it deserv if it flies deliberately in the face of t Church.

2. You report that there are six IV- "in the whole city of New York"; but 7 in Kansas. How long is the FOR going spend money in the big cities when t same amount spent in rural areas mig "turn the world upside down?"

I gave several of the "best years of o lives" to the FOR and I still believe in message devotedly; but I'm quite certa that unless we do some "new thinkin (which we'd like the militarists to d the words of Jesus will again apply to t FOR: "The children of this world a wiser than the children of light."

CARL J. LANDES,
Shandon, Ohio

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